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## QUESTIONS OF TERRITORY AND HONOR.

Many of those who favor, to a certain extent, the application of the method of arbitration to the settlement of international difficulties are careful to say that of course there are certain questions which can not be submitted to this method of adjustment. Among these questions are always mentioned that of the national existence, often those involving the honor of the nation, and occasionally one of these skeptical friends goes so far as to include questions of serious disturbance of territory. President Angell of Michigan University, in his address at the Washington Conference, went nearly this far.

We cannot understand by what course of reasoning this position is reached, unless by serious disturbance of territory is meant some actual attack upon the integrity of the national domain, conceded by all to be such. In this case nobody claims that arbitration can be applied.

Two nations which have the disposition to make an attempt upon the integrity of each other's domain are not yet on a plane where arbitration can even be talked of between them. All questions between them are excluded

from its decision, not those of territorial limits only. The same is largely true where only one of the nations has this aggressive disposition.

But certainly between two nations capable of entering honestly into arbitral arrangements, all questions of disputed territory, no matter of how great area, which has not become a fixed part of one or the other by actual demarkation, made jointly by the two contiguous nations, can be adjusted by arbitration, in fact, can be fairly determined in no other way.

To say that the question of the national existence and independence can not be turned over to arbitration is to say nothing, for no such question can ever arise between two nations which have arrived at the arbitral stage of civilization.

Those who reserve questions of honor as incapable of being arbitrated never specify any such questions. They leave the whole matter in a state of vague sentimentalism which it is very difficult to treat rationally. Did it never occur to them that they are using exactly the duelist's arguments, so far as the duelist reasons at all? If there are any questions of honor between two nations sufficiently civilized to arbitrate their differences which cannot be submitted to this mode of treatment, then to that extent honor is something which cannot be dealt with on the ground of reason, justice and law, but belongs to the realm and the dictates of self-determination and the arbitrament of brute force. This irrational, ancient conception of honor unfortunately still lingers, even where the duel is outlawed, and perverts the view of many good men as to the number and kind of international questions with which arbitration may deal. If all false notions of honor were eradicated, and all imaginary cases of insulted honor were eliminated, there would be little trouble with what was left.

National honor of every kind, in the case of two such nations as the United States and Great Britain, would be entirely safe in the hands of a tribunal of international law, just as personal honor of every kind is safe in the common courts of law. If not safe there, then it would be safe nowhere. For real honor can be determined only at the bar where truth and justice preside.